

Hades Stabbed by the Cross of Christ

MARGARET ENGLISH FRAZER

Associate Curator, Department of Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

A BYZANTINE IVORY carved with the crucifixion of Christ (Figure 1) has long been considered one of the treasures of the medieval collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann published it as the central plaque of a triptych of the tenth century and characterized its lively narrative style as “painterly.”¹ In its masterly execution it is similar to the ivories of the Koimesis in Munich, the Entry into Jerusalem in Berlin, and the Nativity in the British Museum.² The plaque’s iconography is unique among surviving Byzantine representations of the Crucifixion. While the mourning Virgin, St. John, the two angels, and the three soldiers dividing Christ’s garment are frequent witnesses to Christ’s sacrifice for mankind, the bearded reclining man stabbed by the cross (Figure 2) is found only on this ivory. He was identified in the late nineteenth century by Gustave Schlumberger as Hades, unfortunately without documentation; but modern scholars, for example Kurt Weitzmann, believe him to be Adam.³ This article will present evidence to support Schlumberger’s earlier identification and to show that Hades’ presence transforms this representation of Christ’s crucifixion into a celebration of the triumph of his cross and his victory over Death.

The difference in the identification of the reclining figure stems from various sources. The inscription flanking the figure is ambiguous: ‘Ο στ(αυ)ρός ἐν πλάγι ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ Ἀδου (the cross implanted

in the stomach of Adou). Ἀδου can be read either as ‘Αἰδου (Hades or Hell) or ‘Αδάμου (Adam). Weitzmann’s preference for the latter probably stems from the well-established imagery of the skull of Adam depicted buried in the Hill of Golgotha, the place of the skull, beneath the cross.⁴ The legend that Christ was crucified over the grave of Adam was early promulgated by Christian theologians. Athanasius describes Christ as being “crucified in no other place but the Place of the Skull where Jewish doctors say was the tomb of Adam. For it is fitting that the Savior, wanting to renew the first Adam, suffered precisely in that place, in order that, atoning for his sin, he removes it from all his race.”⁵

An artistic expression of this idea was slow in devel-

1. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X. -XIII. Jahrhunderts* II (Berlin, 1934) no. 6, p. 26, pl. II.

2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byz. Elfenbein.*, nos. 1, 3, 5.

3. G. Schlumberger, “Ivoire byzantin de l’ancienne collection Bonnaffé,” *Monuments Piot* 6 (1899) pp. 91–93; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byz. Elfenbein.*, p. 26; K. Weitzmann, “A 10th Century Lectionary. A Lost Masterpiece of the Macedonian Renaissance,” *Revue des études sud-est européennes* IX (1971) p. 628.

4. L. H. Grondijs, *L’iconographie byzantine du crucifié mort sur la croix*, sec. ed. (Utrecht, 1949) pp. 134–137; R. Hausserr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz* (Bonn, 1963) p. 169; K. Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung* (Recklinghausen, 1966) pp. 24–34.

5. “De passione et cruce domini,” *Patrologia Graeca* 28, col. 208A. Grondijs, *L’iconographie byzantine*, pp. 135–136. Compare also 1 Cor. 15:21–22.



oping; only a few examples are known before the Iconoclastic Controversy.⁶ But by the Middle Byzantine period it was a common theme (Figure 3).⁷ The portrayal of the live Adam at the foot of the cross, however, never occurs in the art of Byzantium. To find him there, one must turn to the art of Western Europe. A Beatus manuscript of 975 at Gerona, the earliest surviving example, shows him still in winding cloth laid out in a sarcophagus beneath the cross (Figure 4).⁸ In a thirteenth-century missal from Mt. St. Eloi, he rises from his coffin and lifts a chalice to catch Christ's blood, illustrating the belief that the blood and water that flowed from Christ's side cleansed Adam of his sin.⁹ A more sophisticated treatment of this subject occurs on the thirteenth-century rood screen in the Schlosskirche at Wechselburg, where Adam reclines gracefully at Christ's feet (Figure 5).

FIGURE 1

Crucifixion. Byzantine ivory, tenth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 17.190.44

FIGURE 2

Detail of Figure 1



The initial resemblance between the pose of the Adam at Wechselburg and the figure on the Museum's ivory is striking. Kurt Weitzmann proposed that the figure on the ivory derived from a classical river or mountain god.¹⁰ While the Adam at Wechselburg may depend on such classical personifications, the Byzantine figure suffers a fate more appropriate to a vanquished enemy. The cross transfixes his stomach; his blood is graphically portrayed welling up from the wound. Since Christ's crucifixion redeemed Adam, why should he be portrayed as disemboweled by the instrument of his salvation?

6. For example, a silver nielloed cross in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design: R. Berliner, "A Palestinian Reliquary Cross of about 590," *Museum Notes* 9 (1952); Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung*, pp. 24-34.

7. G. Schiller, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst* II (Gütersloh, 1968), pp. 124-125, figs. 340-343.

8. MS Beatus A-o 975, fol. 16v., in *Treasury of the Cathedral of Gerona, Spain*: Grondijs, *L'iconographie byzantine*, p. 134.

9. Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS no. 38: P. Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959) fig. 210.

10. Weitzmann, "A 10th Century Lectionary," p. 628. The author suggested to me that the Wechselburg Adam was perhaps influenced by a Byzantine model; compare A. Goldschmidt, "Die Stilentwicklung der romanischen Skulpture in Sachsen," *Jahrbuch der königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 21(1900) pp. 233-237.

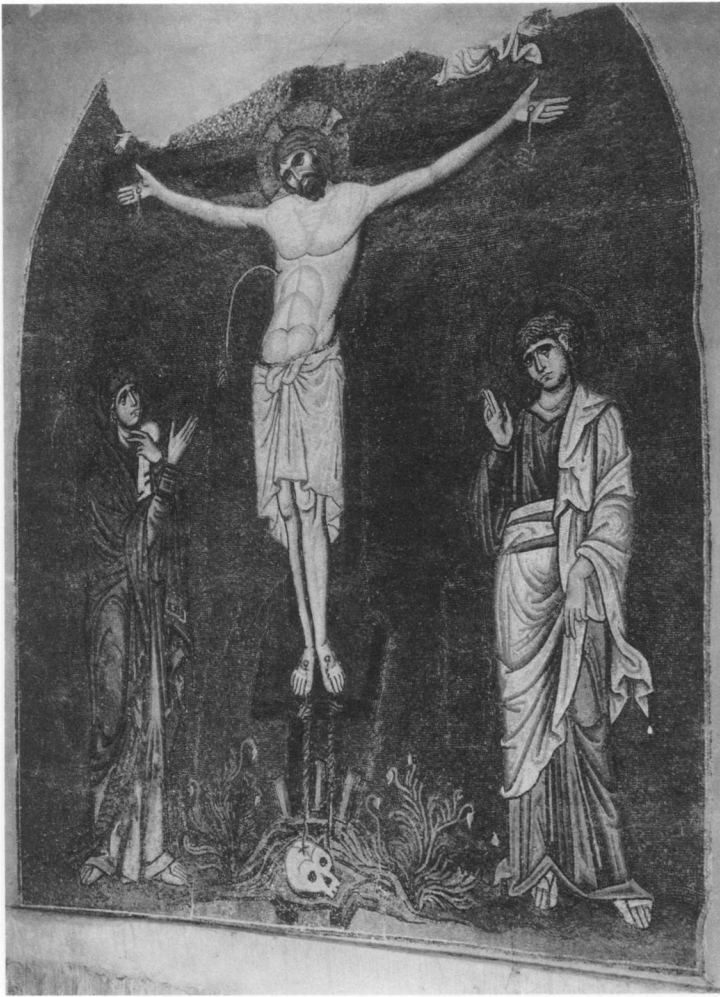


FIGURE 3
Crucifixion. Byzantine mosaic, late eleventh century, Church of the Koimesis, nave. Daphni, Greece (photo: Alinari)

Hades would appear to be a more likely candidate for such rude treatment. He is chained, trampled, and speared during Christ's descent into Hell. In the Anastasis mosaic at Daphni, he is sprawled beneath Christ's feet, crushed and helpless, amidst the wreckage of his formerly invincible kingdom (Figure 6). He is as much the defeated and subdued warrior as are the barbarians trampled and speared by victorious emperors on late Roman triumphal art that was surely the source for this imagery.¹¹ A gold solidus of Honorius (395–423), for example, issued at the mint in Milan after 402, shows the emperor placing his foot on the

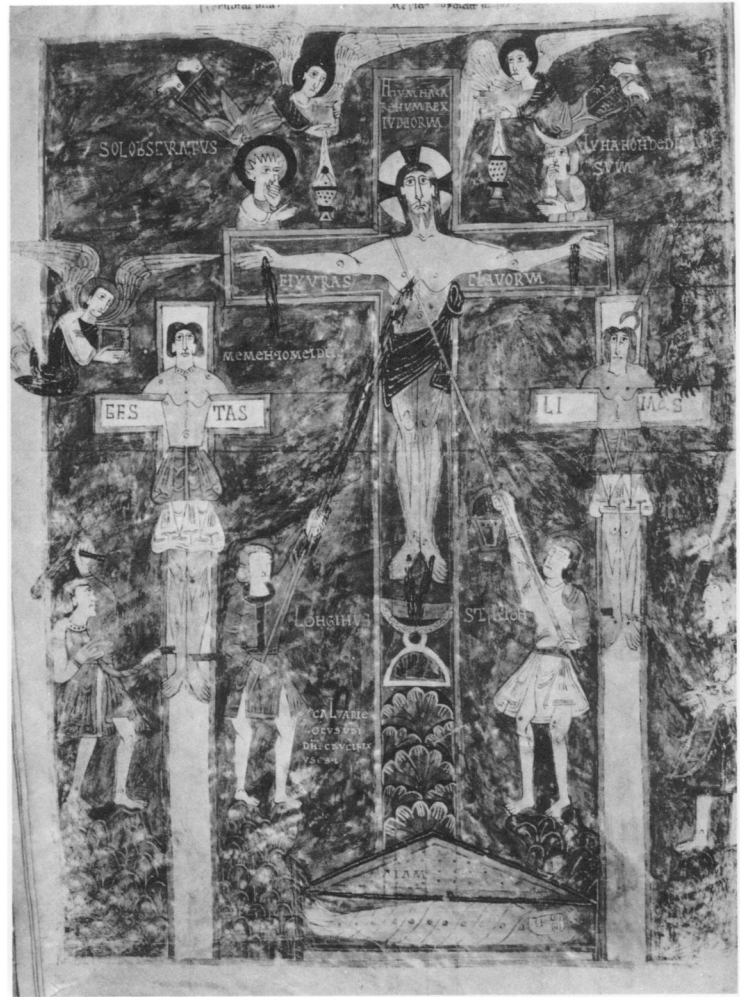


FIGURE 4
Crucifixion. Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus. Tavera, 975. Cathedral Treasury, Gerona, Spain, folio 16 verso (photo: Hirmer)

enemy's prone body while holding a victory and the labarum in his hands (Figure 7). Christ's standard at his descent into Hell is his cross. It is also the weapon with which at Daphni he threatens Hades at the throat. In

11. J. Babelon, "Le thème iconographique de la violence," *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* (St. Louis, Mo., 1953) pp. 280–284. Babelon traces the theme of a ruler trampling his enemy back to the literature and art of the ancient Near East. I am grateful to Katharine Brown for bringing this article and her research on the solidus of Honorius to my attention. See also A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936) pp. 43–44, 245–249.

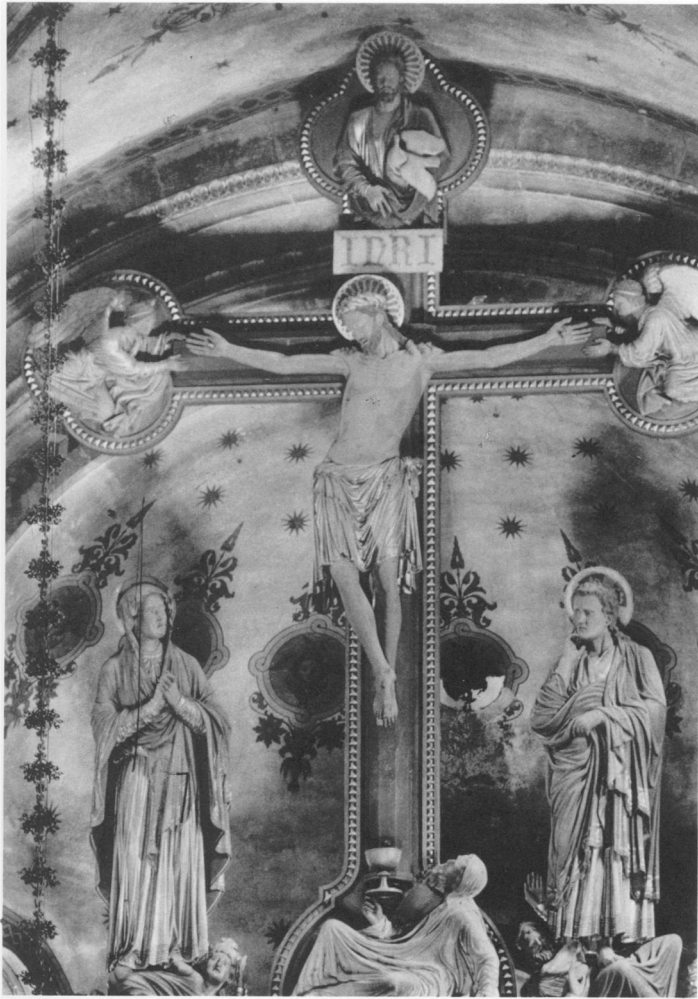


FIGURE 5
Crucifixion. Wood. German, thirteenth century.
Schlosskirche, Wechselburg, Germany (photo:
Marburg)

a more gruesome representation in an eleventh-century Exultet Roll at Velletri, Christ thrusts his cross into the mouth of Hades, again an image derived from ancient portrayals of conquered and conqueror (Figure 8).¹² On an ivory in Lyon and in a twelfth-century manuscript illumination in the Vatican (Figure 9), Hades assumes a more languorous pose, like that on the Metropolitan Museum's ivory, but his helpless state is still clearly perceived.¹³

Several descriptions of Christ's conquest of Hades by the early church Fathers strengthen the connection between the figure on the ivory and Hades in the An-

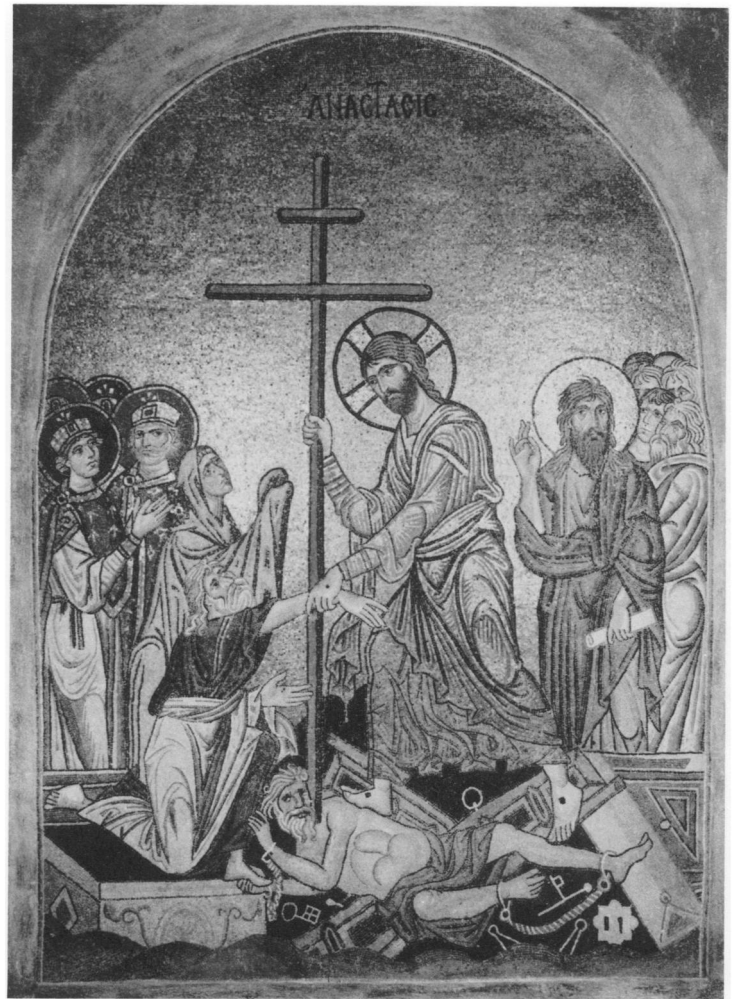


FIGURE 6
Anastasis. Byzantine mosaic, late eleventh cen-
tury, Church of the Koimesis, nave. Daphni
(photo: J. Powell, Rome)

astasis. According to Ephraem the Syrian (d. 378), in his sermon on the Precious and Life-giving Cross,

12. M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, 1934) p. 40. The cross was early considered Christ's sword and standard with which he overthrew the Devil. In the second century, Justin, relating it to forms in everyday life, compares it to the standards and trophies that precede armies ("Apologia I pro Christianis," *Patrologia Graeca* 6, cols. 412C–413A); J. Daniélou, *Théologie du judéo-christianisme* (Tournai, 1957) pp. 290–299; Hausscherr, *Der tote Christus*, pp. 178–182, 202–207.

13. Lyon, Musées du Palais des Arts, Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byz. Elfenbein.*, no. 218, p. 77; Weitzmann, "A 10th Century Lectionary," p. 628; Bib. Apost. Vat. Urb. gr. 2, fol. 260v.



FIGURE 7
Solidus of Honorius (395–423). Milan, after 402.
Diameter $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Gift of C. Ruxton Love, 67.265.25

Christ thrust his cross into Hades' stomach: "With this precious weapon Christ tore apart the voracious stomach of Hades and blocked the treacherous fully opened jaws of Satan. Seeing this, Death quaked and was terrified, and released all whom he held beginning with the first man."¹⁴

A similar theme appears in the popular dialogue between Hades and Satan in the apocryphal accounts of Christ's descent into Hell. In the Acts of Pilate, Hades, fearing the consequence of Christ's crucifixion, reminds Satan of Lazarus, who was "by force snatched . . . out of mine entrails by a word alone," and fears more may happen: "Behold, I perceive that they [all whom he has swallowed up] are unquiet, and my belly

14. "Sermo in pretiosam et vivificam crucem," *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri, opera omnia* II (Rome, 1743) p. 249: 'Εν τοῦτω τῷ ἁγίῳ ὅπλῳ διέρρηξε Χριστὸς τὴν παμφάγον τοῦ 'Αΐδου γαστέρα, καὶ τὸ πολυμήχανον τοῦ Διαβόλου ἐνέφραξεν στόμα. Τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ Θάνατος τρομάξας καὶ φρίξας, πάντας, οὓς εἶχε ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπάστον, ἀπέλυσε. I am grateful to Alice-Mary Talbot for her help with this passage. For commentary, see F. J. Dölger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens IX," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 10 (1967) pp. 14–15. Compare C. Bonner, "The Homily by Melito, Bishop of Sardis," *Studies and Documents* XII (1940) p. 163.

paineth me."¹⁵ In the Gospel of Bartholomew Satan says: "Be not troubled, make safe thy gates and strengthen thy bars: consider, God cometh not down upon the earth. Hades saith unto him: These be no good words that I hear from thee: my belly is rent, and mine inward parts are pained: it cannot be but that God cometh hither."¹⁶

A sermon among the spuria of St. John Chrysostom of the fifth to seventh century is more explicit. The infernal serpent laments that a nail is implanted

15. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924) p. 131.

16. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 168. For the popularity of the dialogue between Satan and Hades, see J. Kroll; *Gott und Hölle* (Berlin, 1932) pp. 163–182; G. La Piana, *Le rappresentazioni sacre nella letteratura bizantina dalle origini al sec. IX con rapporti al teatro sacro d'occidente* (Grottaferrata, 1912) pp. 79–98; S. Der Nersessian, "An Armenian Version of the Homilies on the Harrowing of Hell," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1955) pp. 202–224.

FIGURE 8
Descent into Limbo. Exultet Roll. Italian, eleventh century (retouched). Velletri, Italy (photo: courtesy Penelope Mayo)



(ἐμπήξας, the same verb used on the ivory, ἐνπάγης) in his heart and a wooden lance pierces him, tearing him apart.¹⁷

These are short passages in otherwise lengthy discussions between the protagonists. Romanos the Melodist in the sixth century, however, took full advantage of the dramatic implications of Hades' gastric troubles. In his fourth hymn of the Resurrection sung on Easter Sunday, he has Hades lament:

“O snake, evil counselor, three-headed dragon, what have you done?

For I heard you, and I am myself worsted,”
Hades answered the wily one. “Let us both bitterly lament,
Since in His descent He has attacked my stomach,
So that I vomit forth those whom I formerly devoured.
But now lament with me for we are despoiled of our common glory.”¹⁸

Again in Romanos' fifth hymn on the same theme:

And Hades, lamenting, cried out:
“I am pierced in the stomach; I do not digest the
One whom I devoured;
“Just so, on the third day, the whale disgorged
Jonas.
Now I disgorge Christ and all of those who are
Christ's;
Because of the race of Adam I am being chastised.”

Hades here is pierced in the stomach, χεντώμαι τὴν κοιλίαν, like the figure on the Museum's ivory, ἐνπάγης ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ.¹⁹

17. “In adorationem venerandae crucis,” *Patrologia Graeca*, 62, col. 748:

τίς ὁ ἐμπήξας ἦλον τῇ καρδίᾳ μου; ξυλλίγη με λόγχῃ ἐκέντησε, καὶ διαβρήσσομαι, τὰ σπλάγχνα πονῶ, τὴν καρδίαν μου ἀλγῶ, τὰ αἰσθητήριά μου διαφθείρονται, τὸ πνεῦμά μου μαιμάσσει.

Compare also col. 752. On the authorship of this sermon, see J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes*, Sources chrétiennes, 128 (Paris, 1967) p. 270. See also note 24.

18. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos*, p. 524:

— [Το]βούλευτε ὄφι, τί ἔδρασας, ὦ τρικέφαλε δράκον;
“Ἦκουσα γάρ σου καὶ ἠττήθην ἐγώ”,
πρὸς τὸν πλάνον ὁ “Αἰδῆς ἀντέλεγε: «θρηνῶδουμεν πικρῶς οἱ
[ἀμφότεροι,

δοτι κατελθὼν τῆς γαστροῦ μου καθήψατο·
ὄθεν ἐξεμέσω οὐσπερ κατέκιον πρῶην·
ἀλλὰ θρήνησον νῦν σὺν ἐμοί: τῆς γὰρ δόξης κοινῶς ἐσπερή-
[θην·

The translation is taken from M. Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist* (Columbia, Mo., 1970) p. 304.



FIGURE 9

Anastasis. Gospel Book, about 1122. Vatican ms. Urb. graec. 2, folio 260 verso (photo: Vatican)

19. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos*, pp. 558–560:

‘Ο “Αἰδῆς δὲ ὀδυνηρὰς ἀνεβόησε φωνάς·
«Κεντώμαι τὴν κοιλίαν, ὃν κατέκιον οὐ πέπτω . . .
Οὕτως Ἰωάνν τριταῖον τὸ κῆτος ἐξέμεσε·
νῦν κἀγὼ ἐμέσω Χριστὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὄντας Χριστοῦ·
ἐνεκεν γὰρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ “Αδάμ τιμωροῦμαι.»

Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos*, pp. 277–278. Illustration of the dialogue between Satan and Hades is rare despite its widespread literary popularity. The only representation in Eastern Christendom occurs in a fifteenth-century Russian icon of the Anastasis at the Hermitage, Leningrad (V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* [Turin, 1967] p. 376, fig. 532). Satan and Hades appear more frequently together in such Italian representations of the Descent into Hell, as in those in the eleventh-century Exultet Roll at Velletri (Figure 8) and the twelfth-century ciborium columns in San Marco in Venice (E. Lucchesi-Palli, *Die Passions- und Endszenen auf der Ciboriumssäule von San Marco in Venedig* (Prague, 1942) pp. 105–111; Lucchesi-Palli, “Hades,” *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg, 1970) II, cols. 205–206).

So far these texts have centered on the actual descent of Christ into Hell after his crucifixion. Another hymn by Romanos, however, relates the theme of the piercing of Hades' stomach to the events of Good Friday. His hymn on the Triumph of the Cross begins:

Pilate fixed three crosses on Golgotha,
Two for the robbers, and one for the Giver of life.
When Hades saw Him, he said to those below:
"O my priests and forces, who has fixed the nail in
my heart?
A wooden spear has pierced me suddenly and I am
torn apart.
I am in pain—internal pain; I have a bellyache;
My senses make my spirit quiver,
And I am forced to vomit forth
Adam and those descended from Adam, given to
me by a tree.
The tree leads them back
Again into Paradise."²⁰

In the second verse, Satan tries to calm Hades by saying that he had the wood fashioned to kill the second Adam. Hades replies:

"Run and uncover your eyes, and see
The root of the tree within my spirit;
It has gone down into my vitals,
So that like iron it will draw up Adam.
Elisha once painted in advance its likeness
When he raised up the axe from the river."²¹

The hymn continues in the same vein until it becomes apparent to Satan that he has made a fatal mistake.

Romanos draws his imagery from the work of his predecessors like Ephraem the Syrian, but he specifies that the cross pierces Hades' stomach at the actual time of the crucifixion.²² In his hymn on the Triumph of the Cross, Romanos clearly sets the stage with the planting of the three crosses on Golgotha. Hades' immediate reaction was to cry out "A wooden spear has pierced me suddenly and I am torn apart."²³ Romanos' Hymn on the Triumph of the Cross, according to Grosdidier de Matons, was sung on Good Friday in the Byzantine church, and this is the feast that the Museum's ivory illustrates.²⁴ His hymns on the Resurrection, which have no specific reference to the cross piercing the stomach of Hades on Golgotha, on the other hand, were sung at Easter, the illustration for

which in the Byzantine feast cycle is the Anastasis. It seems most likely that Romanos' hymn for Good Friday was the inspiration of the Museum's ivory or of its pictorial prototype, and that the figure stabbed by the cross is not Adam but Hades.²⁵

The sources cited for the descriptions of Hades suffering by the "weapon" of the cross were all written before the Iconoclastic Controversy. It is difficult to

20. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos*, pp. 286–287:

Τρεῖς σταυροὺς ἐπήξατο ἐν Γολγοθᾷ ὁ Πιλάτος,
δύο τοῖς ληστεύσασιν καὶ ἓνα τῷ ζωοδότῃ·
ὃν εἶδεν ὁ "Αἰδης καὶ εἶπε τοῖς κάτω·
«ὦ λειτουργοί μου καὶ δυνάμεις μου,
τίς ὁ ἐμπήξας ἦλον τῇ καρδίᾳ μου;
Ξυλίνη με λόγχῃ ἐκέντησεν ἄφνω καὶ διαρρήσσομαι·
τὰ ἔνδον πονῶ, τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἀλγῶ·
τὰ αἰσθητήριά μου· μαιμάσσει τὸ πνεῦμά μου,
καὶ ἀναγκάζομαι ἐξερεῦξασθαι
τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τοὺς Ἀδὰμ ξύλῳ δοθέντας μοι·
ξύλον τοῦτους εἰσάγει πάλιν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον.»

Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos*, pp. 230–231.

21. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos*, pp. 288–290:

δράμε, ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου, καὶ ἴδε
τοῦ ξύλου τὴν ρίζαν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς μου·
κάτω κατήλθεν εἰς τὰ βάθη μου
ἵν' ἀνασπάσῃ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὡς σίδηρον.
Τὴν τοῦτου εἰκόνα ποτὲ Ἐλισσαῖος προεξωγράφησεν
ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀξίνην ἀνελών·

Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos*, p. 231.

22. On Romanos' sources see Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos*, pp. 267–278.

23. See note 20. St. Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine, envisioned Golgotha as the site of the epic struggle, according to St. Ambrose: "Here is the place of the battle," she said, "Where is the victory? I seek the standard of salvation." ("De obitu Theodosii oratio," *Patrologia Latina* 16, col. 1400A); Haussner, *Der tote Christus*, p. 202.

24. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos*, pp. 263–269. The spurious sermon of St. John Chrysostom may also have been delivered on Good Friday (La Piana, *Le rappresentazioni sacre*, p. 87). The wording of the passage on Hades' stomach-ache is almost identical to that of Romanos' hymn on the Triumph of the Cross (see note 17).

25. Kurt Weitzmann has shown that one of Romanos' hymns on the Virgin, among other Early Christian sources, was the basis for the noncanonical appearance of the Virgin in some eastern illustrations of the Chairete ("Eine vorikonoklastische Ikone des Sinai mit der Darstellung des Chairete," *Tortulae. Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten* (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1966) pp. 317–325). He also suggests that a hymn was the source for the river in a twelfth-century icon of the Annunciation at Mt. Sinai ("Eine spätkommenische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* [Berlin, 1968] p. 302).

say whether this theme occurred in the illustration of the Crucifixion in the Early Christian period. The more general interpretation of the Crucifixion as Christ's victory over Death and the Devil was an important element in early patristic literature.²⁶ Surviving early illustrations of the event, however, express this idea implicitly with the portrayal of Christ alive on the cross: Hades or Death are never physically present. Only the skull of Adam appears in the Hill of Golgotha, as it does throughout later Byzantine representations.

The presence of Hades occurs only on the Museum's ivory among surviving monuments.²⁷ Although, as Weitzmann proposes, the ivory probably depends on a pictorial model, a manuscript illustration, Hades' depiction must have been rare.²⁸ It probably developed from the search by artists and scholars in the late ninth and tenth centuries for earlier pictorial and literary sources to recreate a corpus of Christian imagery after the devastations of the Iconoclastic Controversy. The new images often contained elements that added drama and significance to important feast pictures. The classical model of Hercules drawing Cerberus from the Underworld, for example, was adapted for Christ pulling Adam from Hell in the Anastasis (compare Figure 6).²⁹ The inclusion of Hades in the Crucifixion, recreating the epic victory of Christ over Death and the forces of Evil, probably also was created at this

time. Judging from its brief appearance, however, compared to the long-lived popularity of Hercules-Christ in the Anastasis, it was not able to break through the basically conservative tradition of Byzantine Crucifixion illustrations.

One wonders whether the inclusion of Hades in scenes of the Crucifixion was caused by the immediate post-iconoclastic enthusiasm of the iconodules. Many illustrations in the so-called "monastic" psalters bear witness to the important role of polemics in their imagery. A most telling example shows the patriarch Nicephoros treading on the iconoclastic patriarch John the Grammarian in the same way that St. Peter triumphs over Simon Magus in the Chludov Psalter.³⁰ Perhaps when the creator of the composition of the Museum's ivory had Hades speared by Christ's cross of victory he was thinking of the triumph of Orthodoxy over the heresies of the iconoclasts.

Whatever the explanation of the brief flowering of the theme of Hades pierced in the stomach by the cross, it was inspired by literary sources, particularly the hymn of Romanos the Melodist sung on the feast of Good Friday. The Byzantine ivory in the Museum's collection, as a rare surviving illustration of this unusual subject, is a most important example of the imaginative recreation of imagery in the period immediately following the Iconoclastic Controversy.

26. Hausscherr, *Der tote Christus*, pp. 178–182.

27. An ivory plaque of the Crucifixion in the Hermitage, Leningrad, shows Adam and Eve and Solomon and David rising out of sarcophagi on either side of the three seated soldiers (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byz. Elfenbein.*, no. 201). Like the illustration of the Crucifixion in a late eleventh-century gospel book in Paris (Bib. Nat. gr. 74, fol. 59r; H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle I* [Paris, n.d.], pl. 51), the presence of the resurrecting dead, adapted from the Anastasis, shows the immediate consequences of Christ's triumph on the cross, as does Hades on the Metropolitan Museum's ivory.

28. Weitzmann, "A 10th Century Lectionary," p. 628. He suggests that this manuscript model was the illustration of the Crucifixion in the original feast cycle developed for a lectionary. Such a prototype would probably have spawned many more copies than this one ivory.

29. K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum VIII* (1936) pp. 88–89.

30. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957) pp. 216–218, fig. 152.